

AN EARLY TENTH-CENTURY INSCRIPTION FROM GALAKRENAI WITH ECHOES FROM NONNOS AND THE PALATINE ANTHOLOGY

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When Cyril Mango and I began collecting materials for a *Corpus* of dated Byzantine inscriptions from the areas around the capital, Ernst Kitzinger generously supported our endeavors. I offer the present entry from the planned *Corpus* as a token of gratitude for his encouragement and his appreciation of the close links between epigraphy and archeology.

EPITAPH OF MICHAEL, SYNKELLOS OF PATRIARCH NIKOLAOS MYSTIKOS

Provenance and Date of Find: Erenköy, on the right side of the Süadiye Karakolu Sokagi, house no. 52, going toward the sea, near the seashore; found in 1943, under the drainpipe of the present house.

Location in 1972: Courtyard of the Ayasofya Museum; inventory no. 288.

Sarcophagus of White Marble: Dimensions of sarcophagus: height 0.49 m, length 2.26 m, width 0.64–0.67 m, thickness of the inscribed slab: 0.05 m. Dimensions of the inscribed area: height 0.34 m, length 0.74 m. Cross, out of alignment, to the left of the first line of the inscription, which is on the front side face. A vertical ruling marks the beginning of lines of the inscription. Traces of ruling at bottom of last line.

Letters: Height 0.038 m (regular letters; smallest ones: under 0.01 m); interlinear spaces 0.01 m (average).

Ἄ ; β and δ ; γ and ύ ; ώ
and ώ ; | and ḥ ; ζ and η ;

small *iota adscriptum* in ΗΧΙ ; end of lines 1 and 4 marked by three dots. No accents or breathings.
Ligatures:

Τ ; Ε ; Η ; Ι (in which Σ and Τ are still recognizable as separate units); Ν .
Abbreviations: Χ = χος.

Date of Inscription: 901–925 or slightly later.

Bibliography: K. Bittel and A. M. Schneider, "Fund- und Forschungsbericht Türkei, 1943," AA 59–60 (1944–45, pub. 1949), esp. pp. 78–79; cf. J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," REG 65 (1952), no. 150 (sums up Schneider); F. Halkin, "Inscriptions grecques relatives à l'hagiographie, IX," AB 71 (1953), 97–98; R. Keydell, *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*, I (1959), 9* (= no. 4); R. Merkelbach et al., eds., *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon* (1980), 66–68 (= no. 78); Alan Cameron, monograph on the *Greek Anthology* (in typescript).¹

Documentation: Photograph, 1961.

Text (cf. Fig. 1):

Τυμβος εγω γραπειν βιοτην, τροπον, ουνομα τουδε.
Συγκελλος Μιχαηλ μοναχο(ς), σοφος, ολβιος ωδε
Αχθος απορριψας, βεβαιοητα δεσμον αλυξας,

¹I am grateful to Professor Cameron for putting the relevant pages of his monograph at my disposal; I have made use of several of his observations in this article. Professor Enrico Livrea read the draft of this article and contributed a number of valuable remarks to lines 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 of our epigram. He kindly allowed me to incorporate these remarks into my commentary.

Ποσσὶν ἐλαφροτάτοισι διεστιχεν, ηἱχι χορεύει.
 5 Πιστότατος θεραπων μεγαλητορος αρχιεροηος
 Νικολεω γεγαως πινυτοφρονος, οστις ετευξε
 Τονδε νεων υψιστω επουρανιω βασιλη.

Adn. crit.: 1 the final letters *v supra lineam* in ἔγων and προλέγων are dubious. 4 ηἱχι is hypercorrect; Liddel-Scott, s.v., recommends ηἱχι.

I am the tomb, recounting the [way of] life, character and the name of this man: Michael, a synkellos and a monk here, wise and fortunate, cast off the burden [of his body]—for he was uneasy with the shackles that weighed him down—and moved over, with nimble feet, [to a place] where he is [now] rejoicing. He was a servant of the great-hearted and wise Archpriest, Nikolaos, who had this temple built in honor of the Highest Heavenly Ruler.

Commentary:

The archeologist and topographer will look to Michael's epitaph for help in locating Patriarch Nikolaos' monastery at Galakrenai. The literary historian will study its borrowings, such as its Homeric echoes, some of them rare (δεσμὸν ἀλύξας at the end of line 3 occurs only once in Homer, in the same position, in *Od.*, 8:353), or its expressions paralleled in the *Palatine* and the *Planudean Anthologies*; above all, he will find in it valuable proof of the use of the epic verses of Nonnos of Panopolis at the beginning of the tenth century. Our epitaph's dependence on Nonnos may be best demonstrated by two examples.

Line 4, ποσσὶν ἐλαφροτάτοισι διεστιχεν, ηἱχι χορεύει, is a cento, made up of Nonnian elements: combine *Dionysiaca*, 28:278 (ποσσὶ ἐλαφροτέροισι); 32:248 (ποσσὶν ὁρεισπόροισι διεστιχεν ἄκρα κολόνης); *Paraphr. Ev. Ioh.* [which we consider to be by Nonnos], 19:21 (ἀχράντοις δὲ πόδεσσι διεστιχε νόσφι μελάθρου) with ηἱχι χορεύει at the end of the hexameter in *Dionys.*, 3:110, and with the occurrence of ηἱχι in the same position as in our epitaph in *Paraphr. Ev. Ioh.*, 9:35; 11:189, and you have our line. Neither of the combinations ποσσὶ(ν) ἐλαφροτάτοισι and ηἱχι χορεύει, nor the form διεστιχεν occurs in Homer.

The same observations apply to πιστότατος θεραπων at the beginning of line 5, paralleled in *Dionys.*, 34:25 at the beginning of the hexameter, but unknown to Homer.

Aside from the fact that, as we now know from the research of Professor Enrico Livrea, the earliest manuscript of Nonnos' Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel (*Laur. gr. VII:10*) dates from the ninth-tenth century, our epitaph is the only testimony for

Nonnos' influence on Byzantine writers in the early part of the tenth century; the two other *testimonia* closest in time date from the second half of the century; they are the list of nine proper names borrowed by Genesios from the catalogue of Dionysus' forces in *Dionysiaca*, Books 13–14, and a few lines from Book 9 quoted in *Etymologicum Magnum*.²

Michael's epitaph can be juxtaposed with three epigrams transmitted in the *Planudean Anthology*.³ Two of them are certainly contemporary with our inscription; they stood on the tomb of Michael's superior, Nikolaos Mystikos, and, according to the astute conjecture of Alan Cameron, may have been due to the pen of the learned prelate and professor at Constantinople about 945, Alexander, Metropolitan of Nicaea.⁴ The third celebrates the consecration of a Bath at Prainetos (on the shore of the Astacene gulf) by "Alexander, priest of the Nicaeans," who must be our prelate.⁵ There are enough similarities between our epitaph and Epigrams 21 and 281 of the *Planudean Anthology* (cf. our text, lines 5–6 and Epigram 21, line 4; cf. our text, line 6 with Epigram 281, line 6) to warrant the assumption that all four, and certainly our epitaph and Epigram 21, emanated from, or were commissioned by the members of, the same competent literary milieu of high prelates gravitating around the Great Church.

Meter: Seven Nonnian hexameters, with caesurae after the third longum (*penthemimeres* or masculine) in verses 3, 5, 6; after both the third and fourth longum (*hepthemimeres*) in verses 1 and 2; and after the first short element of the third metron (*kata triton trochaion* or feminine) in verses 4 and 7. *Brevis in longo* stands at the end of verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 7; correction, avoided in this position by Nonnos, in verse 7 (ὑψιστῷ ἐπουρανίῳ); note the proparoxytone word (ἔτευξε) at the end of verse 6 (this was avoided by Nonnos, cf., e.g., Paul Maas, *Greek Metre* [1962], § 21, but practiced in epigrams

²Cf. Genesius, *Regum libri quattuor* [= CFHB 14, Series Berolinensis] (1978) 4,39 = p. 89 and Index, p. 132, ed. A. Lesmueller-Werner and I. Thurn; R. Keydell, *Nonni... Dionysiaca*, I (1959), 9*–10* (nos. 5 and 6).

³Nos. 21, 22, and 281; cf., e.g., R. Aubretton and E. Buffière, *Anthologie grecque*, XIII (Paris, 1980), 90–91, and 186.

⁴Cameron corrects the lemma of Epigram no. 21 from εἰς Νικόλαον πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρεῖας to εἰς Νικόλαον πατριάρχην Ἀλεξάνδρου (i.e., Alexander of Nicaea). Cf. Aubretton and Buffière (as above, note 3), 91 and Alan Cameron, typescript. On Alexander of Nicaea, cf. J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 27–32, with earlier literature.

⁵P. Maas, "Alexandros von Nikaia," *BNJ* 3 (1922), 333–36.

contemporary with ours, cf. *Planudean Anthology*, 21:1 and 22:1, just referred to); the scanning διέστριχεν in verse 4 is correct. The hexameters are monotonous, containing only two spondees as second metra in verses 3 and 7.

1. Τύμβος ἐγών: Three epigrams by Gregory of Nazianzus, preserved in the eighth book of the *Palatine Anthology*, begin with τύμβος ἐγώ, cf. 224, 230, and 239. All three deal with the decay and desecration of graves. Thus Gregory of Nazianzus is the likely inspiration for the opening words of our inscription. Another epigram of the *Anthology* starting with the same words is an arithmetical puzzle by Metrodorus (fourth century A.D.?), cf. 14:125:1. For τύμβος alone at the beginning of funerary inscriptions, cf., e.g., G. Gjuzelev and J. Koder, “Ein inschriftliches Grab-epigram des Jahres 1428 in Nesebär,” *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (1978), 307 (τύμβος ἐνθάδε) and bibliography in commentary to v. 1 on p. 308.

οὗνομα occurs in the same position in *Dionys.*, 13:86; 41:350 [true, Homer, too, has it in the same position twice, both times in the *Odyssey*].

2. Σύγκελλος Μιχαὴλ μοναχός: The otherwise unknown *synkellos* and “faithful servant” (line 5) of Nikolaos Mystikos (cf. lemma 5/6 below). *Synkelloi* were originally a bishop’s or patriarch’s table companions and sharers of his cell. By the tenth century the term, if not otherwise qualified, meant the special companion of the patriarch of Constantinople. Already by the time of our inscription, such companions could be drawn from among prelates (so Christophoros, the former metropolitan of Cyzicus, probably a *synkellos* of Patriarch Euthymios by 907, cf. Arethas’ Letter 72 to Leo VI, *Arethae Scripta Minora*, II [1972], 109, 18–20, ed. Westerink; this corrects V. Grumel, *REB* 3 [1945], 94, who cites Philaretos, metropolitan of Euchaita and *synkellos* of Patriarch Polyeuktos [954–970] as the earliest example of a prelate invested with this title). Some ninth-tenth century *synkelloi*, however, were abbots or mere monks (so Euthymios, who was *synkellos* not only under Patriarch Stephen, cf. *Vita Euthymii*, § 4, 5–6, pp. 21, 27–23, 11, ed. Karlin-Hayter, but apparently also under Patriarch Anthony Kauleas, cf. Arethas’ Letter 72 [as above], 109, 17–18); and three seals of *synkelloi* dating from the ninth-tenth centuries exhibit the simple formula μοναχῷ (καὶ) συγκέλλῳ, cf. K. M. Konstantopoulos, *Βυζαντιακὰ μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ νομισματικοῦ μουσείου* (1917), no. 269, p. 76, and V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*

de l’Empire byzantin, V/1, nos. 224, 225, pp. 153–54.

Although *synkelloi* were on occasion mere monks, especially after the eleventh century, by about 899–944 the *synkellos* of the patriarch enjoyed high rank of precedence at the palace (just below the *magistros*, the *raiktor*, and the *synkellos* of the pope, but above the *synkelloi* of Oriental patriarchs and all the metropolitans)—witness the *Kleitorologion* of Philotheos and the *Taktikon Beneševič*; cf. J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, pp. 116–17; 136, 19; 138, 32; 146, 12; 148, 17; 163, 6; 176, 14; 178, 8; V. Beneševič, “Die byzantinischen Ranglisten . . . ,” *BNJ* 5 (1927), 115–16. Cf. also N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (1972), index, s.v. σύγκελλος. Often, a *synkellos* would succeed to the throne upon the death of his patriarch (examples start in the sixth century and are well attested in the early tenth century).

From at least the time of Basil I (867–886), the patriarch’s *synkellos* was appointed by the emperor (combine *Vita Euthymii*, §§ 1, 17, and 4, 5, pp. 5, 21–23, and 21, 28, ed. Karlin-Hayter; the passage in *Theophanes Continuatus*, IV, 7, p. 155, 1–2, Bonn ed., according to which Emperor Theophilos made John the Grammarian *synkellos* may reflect the usage of ca. 950, when the passage was written, rather than of ca. 830, when John was promoted); and Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Cerim.*, II, 5, pp. 530, 8–532, 4, Bonn ed.) has preserved the ceremony of the imperial installation of a *synkellos*. Philotheos, the *Taktikon Beneševič*, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus use the term *synkellos* in the singular; hence modern scholars’ assumption that there was only one *synkellos* of the patriarch of Constantinople at the time of our inscription. However, *De Cerim.*, II, 5, p. 531, 7–8, Bonn ed., remarks εἰ δὲ τύχῃ εἶναι ἔτερον σύγκελον—thus it assumes that there could have been two of them (perhaps the newly promoted *synkellos* and that of the previous patriarch). The date of *De Cerim.*, II, 5 is difficult to establish; since both the μέγας and the μικρός emperor are mentioned in it (530, 15–16, Bonn ed.), we could think of the reign of Leo VI. In general, under Basil I or Leo VI, that is, roughly at the time of our inscription, the title of *synkellos* was at its height; the price to pay for the title’s lofty station was nomination by the emperor.

Whether Michael was the only *synkellos* of Nikolaos, or shared this position with another, he was an important person, congenial to an educated patriarch; this explains why his tomb bears an inscription in high literary style.

On *synkelloi*, cf. Laurent, *Corpus V/1*, pp. 147–48; J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ḍōphīkia de l'Eglise byzantine* (1970), pp. 17–19, 31–32, 35–36; and N. Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 308; all three with earlier bibliographies, from which the articles by Athenagoras, Metropolitan of Paramythia and Parga, ‘Ο Θεομόδος τῶν Συγκέλλων ἐν τῷ Οἰκουμενικῷ Πατριαρχεῖῳ, in ’Επ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ. 4 (1927), 3–38; 5 (1928), 169–92; and 7 (1930), 308–26 should be singled out.

ὅδε: We connect “here” with “monk” rather than with “burden” (of the body) in part because Nonnos does not punctuate in the same position before ὅδε; if this is correct, then Michael was a monk of the monastery in whose church he was buried, or must at least have spent some time there. Did he accompany Nikolaos in his banishment to Galakrenai? It is also possible to connect ὅδε, “hither,” with διέστιχεν and to correlate it with ἦχι, “where.” Thus: “he moved to a place, where.”

3. Ἀχθος ἀπορρίψας: The phrase occurs at the beginning of the pentameter in the fictitious epitaph for Alcman by Leonidas of Tarentum in the *Palatine Anthology*, 7:19:4: ἄχθος ἀπορρίψας οἴχεται εἰς Ἀΐδαν. This, connected with the use of τύμβος ἔγώ in line 1 and of πινυτόφορονος in line 6 below, creates a serious presumption that the author of our inscription leafed through the seventh and eighth books of the *Palatine Anthology*, both containing funerary epigrams, in search of inspiration. Whatever the meaning of the cast-off “burden” (ἄχθος) in Leonidas’ epigram may have been (on various interpretations, cf. A. S. F. Crow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams*, II [1965], 366, who translate the relevant words by “having cast off the yoke of slavery” and, on the other hand, M. Gigante, *L’edera di Leonidas* [1971], 65–66, who sees in these words a reflection of the Pythagorean notion of body as burden), in our inscription ἄχθος surely stands for the weight of our material bodies, a weight from which we become free after death. The same observation also applies to the word δεσμόν, “shackles,” which occurs further on in line 3.

ἀπορρίψας: The word is not in Homer, but occurs in the same position in *Dionys.*, 48:128.

βεβαρητά: Homeric, cf. *Odyssey*, 19:122; cf. also 3:139, βεβαρητές, connected with οἵνῳ in both instances. Homer and later epic writers (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.*, 4:1524; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomeric*, 13:164; Triphiodorus, *Illi exc.*, 582 [*varia*

lectio]), however, use βεβαρητές, etc., in the passive sense; the author of our epigram erroneously endowed the word with an active meaning.

δεσμὸν ἀλύξας: Borrowed from *Odyssey*, 8:353 (only occurrence in Homer).

4. ποσσὸν ἐλαφροτάτοισι: Cf. *Dionys.*, 28:287, and 32:248, and *Paraphr. Ev. Ioh.*, 19:21; for quotations, cf. p. 462 above.

διέστιχεν: The form does not occur in Homer, but is frequent in Nonnos. It stands in the same position as in our verse in *Dionys.*, 5:541; 6:246; 14:93; 32:126, and in *Paraphr. Ev. Ioh.*, 2:111; 10:82; 18:1; 19:21. For the meaning “run through, move over, overtake” of διαστείχω in Nonnos, cf. E. Livrea, *Colluto, Il Ratto di Elena* (1968), 175 (*ad Colluthus*, v. 215: διαστείχουσα).

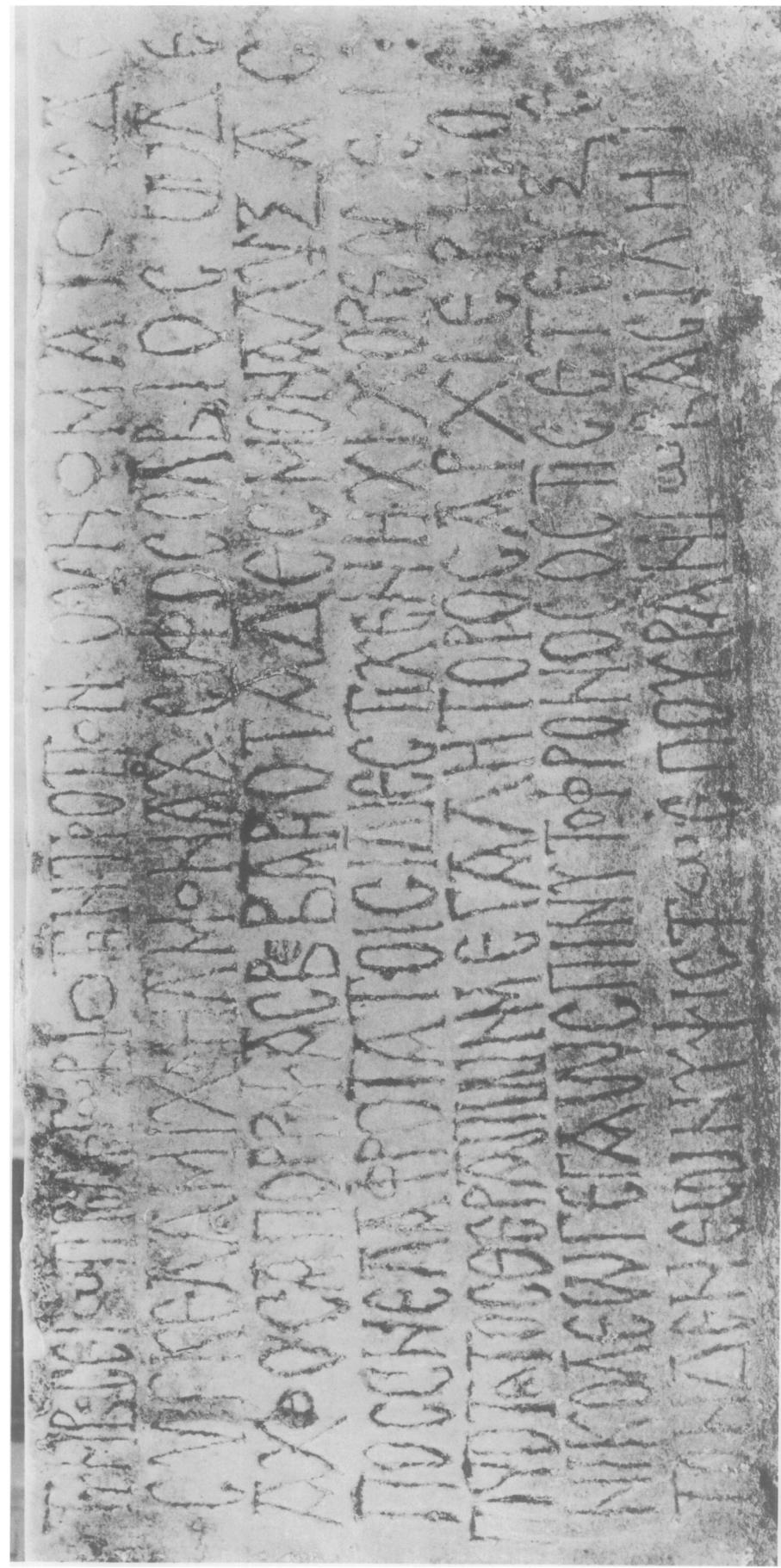
ἥχι χορεύει: Cf. *Dionys.*, 3:110 (at end of the hexameter; –ἥχι χορεθει); cf. also ἥχι in the same position as in our verse in *Paraphr. Ev. Ioh.*, 9:35; 11:189.

χορεύει: Literally “dances.” The verb must refer to Michael’s rejoicing as part of the choir of saints in Paradise.

5. πιστότατος θεράπων: Combination not in Homer, but cf. *Dionys.*, 34:25 at the beginning of a hexameter (πιστότατος θεράπων); cf. also 26:163 (πιστόν . . . ὀπάνον).

μεγαλήτορος: Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have a considerable number of lines (14 and 13 respectively) which have μεγαλήτορος in the same position; it is often followed by the name of a person (Ἀλκινόοι, Ἀινεῖα).

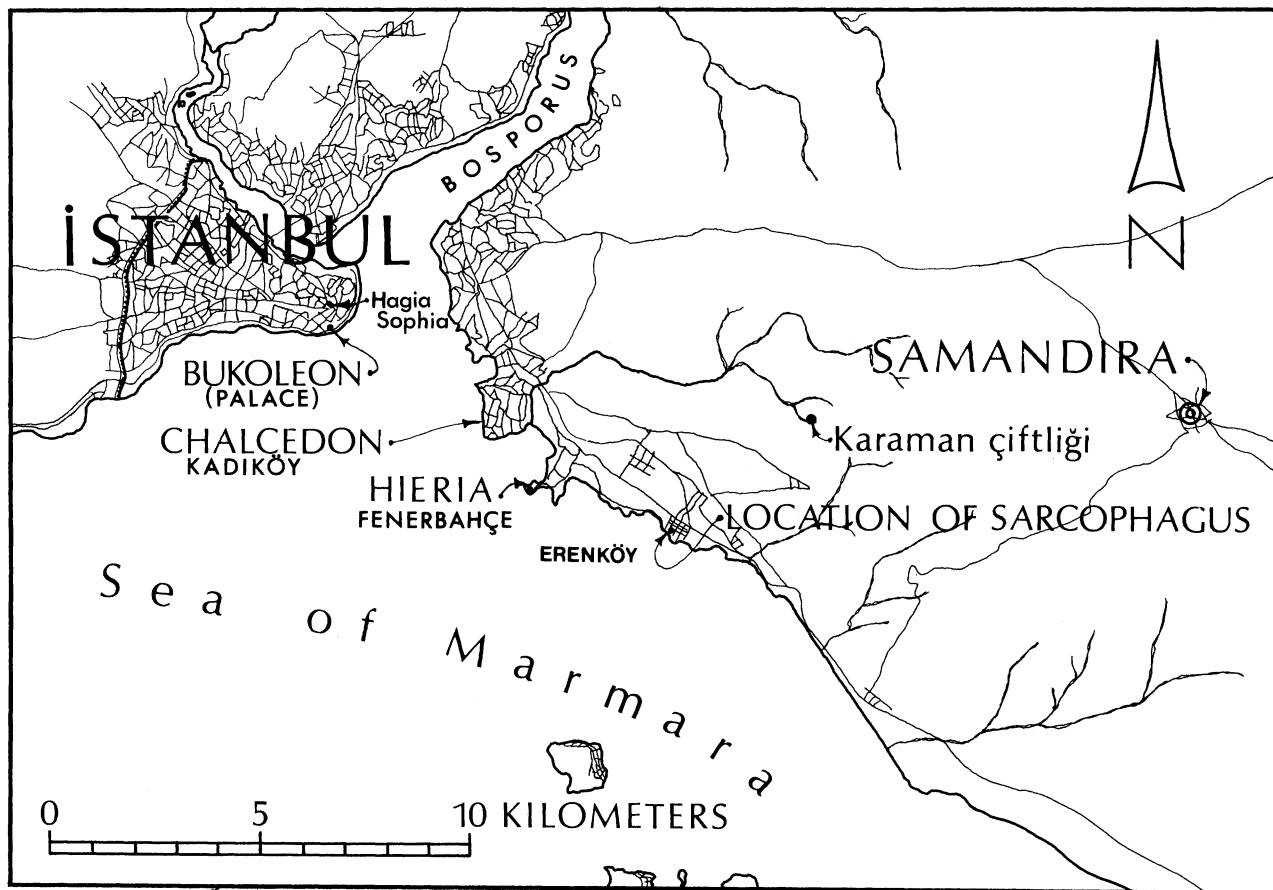
5/6. ἀρχιερῆσ . . . Νικόλεω γεγαώς: The “Archpriest” Nikolaos could have been an archbishop, a metropolitan, or a patriarch (of Constantinople or an Oriental see), assuming—which is unclear—that the two first categories of prelates had *synkelloi* of their own. Since the sarcophagus was found in Erenköy, our choice is limited to the patriarch of Constantinople and the metropolitan of Chalcedon. Letter forms of our inscription indicate that it should date from the tenth century. No Nikolaos, metropolitan of Chalcedon, is known to us from this period (none appears in the list by R. Janin in *DHGE* 68 [1951], 274–77); what is more, it is unlikely that a mere metropolitan would be referred to by his name alone, without mention of his see. Between the two tenth-century patriarchs, Nikolaos Mystikos (March 901–February 907; May 912–May 925) and Nikolaos Chrysoberges (April 976–December 991), we choose the former. This on account of the hexameters, the practice of which is



1. Epitaph of Michael Synkellos, courtyard of Ayasofya Museum (photo: C. Mango)



2. Capital found at Erenköy, Süadiye Karakolu Sokagi, no. 52



Environs of Istanbul, with the Asiatic shore (map: J. Peterson)

attested in the time of Leo VI, of the letter forms which point to the early rather than the later tenth century, and of the location of find which is surely near the monastery of Galakrenai, “founded” by Nikolaos Mystikos, cf. *lemma* to line 7 below.

For a contemporary—and routine—use of ἀρχιερεύς and ἀρχιεραρχῶν alone with reference to Nikolaos Mystikos, cf., e.g., *Vita Euthymii*, §§ 13,15; 14,12; 21,2, 13, 15, pp. 89,6; 95,26; 131,12; 135,18, 31, ed. Karlin-Hayter. Cf. also § 4,5, p. 21,27, ibid., where ἀρχιερεύς is used for Patriarch Stephen. In his letter 32 to the pope, Nikolaos twice refers to himself as ἀρχιερεύς, cf. pp. 224,174 and 226,190 ed. Jenkins-Westerink. Finally, *Vita Euthymii*, § 14,8, p. 93,27, ed. Karlin-Hayter makes Nikolaos refer to his priestly (as opposed to patriarchal) office as ἀρχιεροσύνη.

For a textual parallel to θεράπων . . . ἀρχιερῆσος Νικόλεω γεγαώς, cf. *Anthol. Planudea*, 21:4, ἀρχιερεὺς Χριστοῦ Νικόλεως γεγαώς (epitaph of Nikolaos Mystikos).

6. πινυτόφρονος: The word is not Homeric, but occurs four times in the *Dionysiaca*; cf. also *Paraphr. Ev. Ioh.*, 10:103. A more likely source of inspiration for our epigrammatist, however, is the fictitious funerary epigram by Simias for Sophocles in the *Palatine Anthology*, 7:22:5 (εὗνεκεν εὐμαθήης πινυτόφρονος). Cf. also *ibid.*, 1:17:3 (an inscription in the St. Polyeuktos church that may have still existed in our author’s time) and 3:8:1. In all three instances, πινυτόφρονος stands in the same position as in our line. The word, along with two other compounds, in -φρων, is first attested in Greek letters through epigrams included in the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies* (cf. A. W. James, *Studies in the Language of Oppian of Cilicia* [1970], 112) and is rare outside these collections; this creates a further presumption that our author culled it from there.

7. τόνδε νεών: “This temple” was the church in which Michael’s tomb was placed, probably in an arcosolium with the front face of the sarcophagus

turned toward the viewer. Since traces of a (tenth-century?) church were discovered at the spot where our sarcophagus was found (cf. photo of a ninth/tenth-century [?] capital, Schneider, "Fund- und Forschungsbericht . . .," pl. 29,1 and our Fig. 2), there is no need to assume that it had been moved to Erenköy from somewhere else. This brings up the question of identification of the "temple" which was "made" by Nikolaos Mystikos. It is possible that this was one of the otherwise unknown churches founded by Nikolaos. We believe, however, that the church in which Michael was buried belonged to the monastery τῶν Γαλακτηνῶν (this was considered already by Schneider, "Fund- und Forschungsbericht . . .," p. 79, who, however, half-retracted his proposal; for the discussion that follows here, consult sketch Map). This monastery was founded—or rather re-restored—by Nikolaos Mystikos who was buried in it himself; it was surely situated on the Asiatic shore, and not far from Constantinople. It has been located either south of Samandra-Samandira (so Siderides, on account of the presence there of a spring called in modern times Sütlüayazma or Sütlüpınar, "Milky spring" (Galakrenai meaning the same thing) or at Karaman çiftliği, northeast of Küçük Bakkal Köyü (so Meliopoulos, on account of the presence of ruins and a modern hagiasma of St. Nicholas there). All that the sources (especially Ps.-Symeon Logothete and *Vita Euthymii*; for quotations from those two sources, cf., e.g., P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae* CP [1970], p. 16) imply about the location of the monastery of Galakrenai is that the shortest way to reach it from Constantinople was by boat to Hieria on the Asiatic shore, and that this monastery was relatively far from, but still within walking distance of, Hieria: when Nikolaos Mystikos fell from grace after a sumptuous dinner in the palace on February 1, 907, he was led first to the Palace of Bukoleon (which was near the shore of the Propontis), put into a small boat, taken to Hieria, and made to walk from there through the snow to Galakrenai. The monastery of "Lord Nikolaos," attested in 1140, was probably near (κατά) Hieria (emend τὸ ιερόν to τὴν Ἱέρειαν in Rhalles-Potles, Σύνταγμα . . ., V [1855], p. 77). Hieria has been surely identified with the present-day Fenerbahçe; and Süadiye Karakolu Sokağı, where our sarcophagus was found, is about four kilometers farther southeast of Fenerbahçe. In 907 Nikolaos was about

fifty-five years of age; being made to walk four kilometers through snow was enough of a shock for a man of his age and elevated station, especially since his deposition had been quite unexpected; it was also enough of a *coup de théâtre* to have been rumored about and registered by the Chronicle of the Logothete. Karaman çiftliği is about seven kilometers from Fenerbahçe; this makes the identification with Galakrenai possible, but less likely; as for Samandıra, its distance from Fenerbahçe is about eighteen kilometers. Having to cover such a distance on a winter night would have been a very considerable hardship. Yet, when in his letter to the pope (Letter 32, p. 224, 172–76, ed. Jenkins-Westerink), Nikolaos describes his deposition, he mentions the cold but is silent on the long walk through the snow. On Galakrenai and its controversial location, cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* . . . (2nd ed., 1964), pp. 497–98 (sources and earlier bibliography, to which one should add J. Parroire, "Hiéria," *IRAIK* 4,2 [1899], esp. pp. 55–56) and *ibid.*, map XIII; I. Chr. Konstantinides, Νικόλαος Α', δο μυστικός . . . (1967), p. 51 and note 4, and R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (1975), 41.

The Attic νεών (instead of the epic νηόν) was used in our epitaph for the sake of meter.

ὑψίστω . . . βασιλῆι: Unless these words mean simply "God," the church was dedicated to Christ; we do not know the *vocabulum* of Galakrenai.

For ἐπουρανίω βασιλῆι cf. *Paraphr. Ev. Ioh.*, 5:70 (ἐπουρανίω βασιλῆι); 11:12 (ἀλεξικάνω βασιλῆι); 12:50 (ἀλεξιμόρω βασιλῆι). *Βασιλῆι* at the end of a hexameter is frequent in both Homer and Nonnos. The correction ὑψίστω ἐπουρανίω (in the first short syllable of the dactyl) is a transgression against Nonnian laws (see R. Keydell, *Nonni . . . Dionysiaca*, I [1959], 41*). Our author, unaware of these laws, mechanically combined two formulae from the *Paraphr. Ev. Joh.*: ὑψίστου βασιλῆος (15:65) and ἐπουρανίω βασιλῆι (5:70). Cf. also *Anthol. Pal.*, 1:10:19 and 37 (ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως).

Date: The laudatory reference to Nikolaos Mystikos suggests that Michael must have died either when the patriarch was in office or shortly after his demise. This makes the years 907–912, which Nikolaos spent in exile at Galakrenai, less likely as the date of our inscription.